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dishes which are quick to be noted by the rest of the family and often acknowledged by the girl herself. 868

The mother's relationship with her daughter up until the time of the girl's marriage is that of teacher more than comforter. There is nevertheless a great deal of tenderness displayed between them. A daughter will sit by her mother next to the fire at night, lean against her, hold her hand, and perhaps even wash her feet for her at bedtime. 593

The daughter looks to her mother for approval. After marriage the situation changes, since the day-to-day relationship ceases and is replaced by occasional visiting between mother and daughter. When the two visit, however, the meeting is apt to involve a good many nostalgic tears and, depending on whether or not wine or *chicha* are served, maudlin affection. If the mother visits her daughter it is also an occasion for her to inspect the daughter's household, children, and husband. Small gifts are often exchanged at these meetings. 593 574 [273] [431]

Father-Child Relationships

There is no appreciable difference in the relationship between mother and daughter as against mother and son during the early years of childhood. The time comes, nevertheless, when a boy begins to receive instruction in man's activities from his father and/or older brother. The boy accompanies the father to the fields, to other households where he remains in the company of men and listens to their discussions, or to town where commercial transactions might be carried out by the father and a Chilean businessman. Usually, after getting a taste of this adult world, the boy tends to evade his domestic chores and assume a grown-up manner at critical moments. Although this attitude may bring censure from his father, as it surely does from his mother, it is a sign of adolescent restiveness which is recognized by the parents. The boy looks forward to opportunities to accompany his father out of the house, and he is permitted to do so more and more frequently if his father is pleased with him. 868 [593] [883]

Generally, boys begin to tend the animals in pasture when they are seven or eight years of age, and even earlier if they assist an older sibling. But this sort of activity is participated in by girls as well. This is usually when there are no boys of suitable age in the family. Boys remark that girls pasture the animals and that they themselves are growing too old for this. While shepherding and tending cows and horses is pleasant enough work which provides occasions for contact and play with other girls and boys of the reservation, it is not adult work. 868 857 233 [885]

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work. A boy looks forward to doing field work, which he has been conditioned to regard as one of the proper adult roles.

Although a boy does not fully engage in field work until he reaches the age of fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen, when he is trusted to plough, harrow, or harvest by himself, he is generally allowed to help in some limited way under the supervision of his father before this. As soon as this type of work is open to him, a boy assumes adult mannerisms, seriously discussing agricultural matters which he has heard others discuss for many years. Now he listens and talks with greater interest and intensity. He strives for his father's approval and, if he is fairly competent, usually is encouraged by him. He is also subject to the family's ridicule if he does not perform well. Unlike his sister, however, he will unfailingly maintain composure in the face of it, for this is the manly thing to do.

Gradually a boy achieves competence in most things, but the learning process, in which he is subordinate to his father, continues until the father desists from actual supervision of the work and leaves it entirely in the hands of his son. Actually, this relationship endures throughout the active life of the father. Usually the theme of industriousness characterizes the instruction long after the son has acquired manual skill and judgment equal to that of his father — even surpassing the old man in some things, which is not unusual today. The father sets himself up as the example to follow, and the son tends to be deeply molded after the manner of his teacher, sharing his values and living up to them to the same degree as the father. While the values tend to be traditional, rather than idiosyncratic, there is yet a good deal of individual variation between households because of differential adherence to them, and the usual great similarity between the attitudes of father and grown sons, in most respects, speaks for the former's strong influence in the socialization of the latter.

The entire family shows deference toward the father. He is considered the most astute politically, in matters of trade, cattle raising, farming, and most other rural pursuits. He does however, take the counsel of his wife and older sons, especially the sons, who have generally been to school and are more conversant with Chilean culture and therefore more perceptive regarding certain agricultural trends, and so forth. Although this is so in many cases, and it seems that instances of this kind are increasing, decisions — especially those concerning the homestead — are given final voicing by the father. To one who knew the Mapuche for only slightly more than a year, it was

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activity, primarily to set the stage for a discussion of courtship and the implications of certain social changes for traditional courtship and marriage practices. Examples of illicit love affairs and premarital pregnancy are provided to help in understanding something of the sanctified aspect of marriage and the nature of exogamic organization. Marriage is then discussed in terms of its arrangements, in which section much descriptive data are provided to clarify the relationships which marriage establishes between two kingroups. The arrangement and structural significance of secondary unions are treated at the end of the chapter.

SEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES

Older Mapuche say that young people today have greater opportunities for sexual activity than formerly. While the accuracy of this statement is somewhat tinged by overtones of moral judgment, it seems an essentially correct observation. Interpersonal contacts have widened in a number of ways. In the period of large unilocal households or *lofche* clusters, families were physically separated from one another and the extended-family groups were relatively self-contained. Young people were considerably more isolated than they are under today's crowded reservation conditions. Furthermore, in the past their contacts with peers were more often supervised by adults than they are today. Nowadays, contacts with a larger and more differentiated peer group are relatively sustained, rather than intermittent as they were several generations ago under different social conditions.

Preschool-age children associate with housemates and children of nearby houses while performing daily chores such as tending animals in pasture. School children participate in these activities in the afternoon and during the summer vacation period. They comprise the senior members of the group and act as its leaders and general counselors, and are founts of information about sexual matters. By and large, these groups are composed of closely related youngsters who are members of the same lineage and who tend not to engage in sexual experimentation among themselves, although they discuss sexual matters avidly.

Children are aware of their parents' sex activities and on occasion make lewd reference to them among their peers. Sexual intercourse between spouses takes place most often in the family dwelling at night.

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ships which constitute incest. Moreover, the age of the individuals concerned is a factor in determining the seriousness of an incestuous relationship. Among young adolescents, for example, an incestuous relationship, while subject to strong censure, does not bring social ostracism. There is, then, a certain flexibility in the supposedly immutable incest barrier.

Aside from the above-mentioned restraints, young people are not closely watched by their parents. When children begin to attend reservation school, their daily contacts with peers are prolonged into late adolescence. In addition to becoming more closely acquainted with other young people from their own reservation, they meet boys and girls from surrounding reservations who might have remained virtual strangers to them otherwise. If they do not attend school, which is increasingly rare today, their association with their peer group might be disrupted at about the age of ten or eleven years, when they begin to take on adult responsibilities in and around the home. This applies more to girls than boys, since the former then become largely housebound. Their interreservational contacts are relatively few until they gain more independence from parental authority, generally not until after adolescence. This situation seems to have been traditional.

Sexual intercourse is often first experienced by boys during early adolescence, while still attending school. For most girls, however, it is said that this experience comes a few years later and usually under the guise of courtship. There are "popular" girls, though, who are known to loiter on the way home from school or at a stream while fetching water or firewood to tryst with boys. Sexual intercourse often occurs at these rendezvous, but it is considered almost wholly experimental and, barring pregnancy, free from compromise. If a boy's parents hear of his involvement in this type of affair, they are not particularly disturbed. He might be admonished as "bad" or "lazy" and told not to waste his time, but he will not be chastized. At that, he might momentarily gain the mock admiration of his older siblings. A girl will be more severely reprimanded and, thereafter, more closely watched. If she persists in sexual indulgence and becomes promiscuous, bringing disgrace on her family, the household will suffer from discord and uneasiness. She might be taken out of school and kept at home, or her parents might send her to a relative who lives some distance away. However, when she marries the matter is resolved, and husbands do not recriminate with wives over past indiscretions.

Actually, there is little promiscuity in the sense of boys and girls